1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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415 Gourds having an hourglass shape are used as water jugs on foot journeys. They are carried at the middle of the back, held by a rope which passes around the traveler's waist and the constricted portion of the gourd.

Knives. The stone knife (*kwaiyd'l;* also arrowhead) is lanceolate, 324 as large as one's hand, sharp on both edges, somewhat pointed, but with 412 a blunt base. Obsidian is preferable, but flints are used. It is not known whether such knives were hafted: they are no longer made. Another knife (50.2–1219) is a broad flake, with long chips struck from one face only. This is conveniently held between thumb and forefinger.

Cutting movements, as in wood working, are always toward the body.

Stone is not drilled; drilled beads are obtained elsewhere, as among the Hopi. Holes are drilled in wood, bone, or horn (as in the arrow wrench) with an arrowhead, revolving the shaft between the palms.

Sleeping Mats. These (*tcĭkedĭakwi'ed*) are made of strips of cedar or 285 juniper bark (*tcĭkedĭd*) pounded until soft, but not rolled into rope. The larger mats are rectangular, 1 m. by 75 cm., woven with both warp and continuous weft of bark. The ends are bound by stitching with a cord at 2 cm. intervals. Smaller mats are used, and owned, by children. These [422] are somewhat elliptical, with nearly parallel sides. The warp, coiled from center outward, is crossed by twined wefts (cords) placed radially. Neither blankets nor clothing are made of cedarbark.

Ropes. Ropes are usually of yucca fiber, but tanned hide is also used. 283 The inner leaves of a dead broad-leaf yucca are selected, pounded singly between two smooth stones, and flexed with the fingers to remove the connective tissue. The fibers are finally separated by continuing the flexing of a bundle of such leaves rendered pliable with water.

Yucca ropes are three- to six-ply, usually three. These are braided of bundles of fiber; the bundles are never rolled into strands. New lengths are introduced, as required, by simply laying them between two crossing elements. If the fiber is dampened the rope will shrink tight. Three-ply ropes are commonly about four meters long and 1.5 cm. in diameter.

The hide ropes may be of deer, antelope, or mountain sheep skin; the last is strongest.[1] These are also braided of three to six strands. One seven-ply specimen (50.2–1231), nearly six meters long, is flat (0.5 by 1.2 cm.) and the plaiting presents a herring-bone pattern on both sides.

[1] Curiously my informant referred to all articles derived from this animal as best.

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422 Other property consists of houses, horses, dress, weapons and tools, and the immaterial possessions, shamanistic materials and chieftainship. So far as houses may be conceived as individually owned, they belong to 423 342 the male head, since he can send his wife (and children?) away. But nothing else is possible, since the field in which it stands belongs to him. [462] [768] At least all the heavier work of house building is done by the men. The house is burned after the death of an inmate.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by men alone. They have 422 had a fair number of these ever since Spanish days: Garcés found them [462] plentifully supplied with live stock in 1776.[1] Two or three good riding [175] horses are killed on their owner's death; others are given away. Saddles [768] are often burned or destroyed, sometimes being left on the horse when it is killed.

Personal possessions are not numerous. Men and women own their blankets and clothing, with perhaps a gala dress apiece. A man owns his weapons, tools, some buckskins, and perhaps a mask and charm or two; a woman her household utensils, pots, baskets, and field tools. In other words, each owns the articles peculiar to his sex. Husband and wife own and dispose of their possessions independently. I have never seen either [593] interfere with the other's transaction when selling specimens to me: 422 advice was, however, sometimes asked and acted on. Children own little 432 or no property, a condition which struck both Cushing[2] and myself as 858 being sharply in contrast with that at Zuñi. For instance, when buying a small burden basket used solely by a little girl, her mother set the price. Laying this simply to the girl's bashfulness, I offered the coin to her Zuñi-fashion, but her mother objected, claiming it as hers. To test this, I attempted to buy a similar basket from Jess's little daughter. This had been made and presented to her by her paternal grandmother. But the bargain was struck by her parents, although they turned the purchase money over to her. Perhaps boys are somewhat more favorably situated, since they freely sold their bows and arrows when I met them hunting in sport. *These weapons were all products of their elders.*

A dying man states his wishes respecting the disposal of his posses- 428 sions. This includes land, although the succession to this is rather pre- [768] determined. To be sure, most of his choicest belongings, clothing, weapons, horse, etc., are burned or buried with him. Such articles as are permitted to remain are inherited by his children or by members of his family. A woman's possessions go to her children or to her own family.

[1] Coues, 1900, I, 107 et seq.
[2] Cushing, (2), XI.

resources formerly available to them. When wild foods became scarce, women began to weave baskets for sale to tourists at Grand Canyon. Tourist demand for basketry exceeded that of neighboring tribes with whom the Havasupai had traded. In recent years, basket weaving has decreased in popularity among women, because it is tedious work and compensation is inadequate for time and effort expended. 464 177 562

A younger generation of women has discovered a source of income, larger and more easily acquired than that from basket weaving, in employment at Grand Canyon and elsewhere. Nearly all young girls now spend some time prior to marriage working at Grand Canyon or elsewhere. Usually, they do maid service or kitchen work for the tourist establishment or housework for resident white families in the Grand Canyon community.

On the reservation, a young woman is postmistress, and the Indian Service, until the day school was discontinued in 1955, employed a woman as school housekeeper-cook, rotating this job among applicants from year to year to distribute the income among families. A number of other women are permanently employed off the reservation.

In the younger generation, one girl who graduated from high school in 1951 applied for admission to nursing school but was refused because of her health. Subsequently, she worked a year in a Phoenix hospital, was a housemaid in Los Angeles, was a matron at Sherman Institute in Riverside, California, and presently is employed in an Oakland hospital as a nurse's aid. She is an exception rather than the rule, showing more initiative than most other girls or boys of the same age. Significantly, her mother is perhaps the best educated, most progressive, and most ambitious woman of her own generation, a woman unafraid to instigate action in matters that concern the tribe and courageous in speaking her opinions in public meetings of the tribal council.

A majority of both boys and girls in recent years have failed to complete high school and many have left school at the eighth or ninth grade level or earlier, thus limiting themselves in the kind of employment they can obtain and restricting themselves to the lower income brackets in comparison with better educated or job-trained white youths of comparable age. On the whole, Havasupai girls tend to remain in school longer than do the boys. 472

Ownership and Inheritance of Property

In aboriginal times, Havasupai women had clear right of ownership to personal items such as clothing and tools used for basket weaving or other work, articles of their own manufacture such as baskets, and money or other goods acquired in selling or trading items belonging to them. In addition, feminine property included baskets, pottery, and other articles used 422 562

422 by women in housekeeping, food gathering and so on.
562

In former times an individual's personal property, including clothing,
[768] tools, weapons, and other small articles, was burned at his death; today, it is burned or interred with him. In aboriginal days a woman seldom owned anything that was not destroyed or discarded at her death. In primitive groups most personal property is useful only to members of the original owner's sex; among the Havasupai, therefore, women inherited nothing.

Land, trees, and horses were owned and inherited by men. Land was
423 inherited by a man's sons and grandsons, or it reverted to males in his con-
428 sanguine family, usually his brothers or nephews.

Tensions and Changes

578 Today, a certain amount of feminine resentment exists against male
562 priority in land inheritance. This resentment appears strongest among
428 women without brothers who saw land pass from their fathers to male rela-
177 tives such as cousins one or more degrees removed, and among widows who failed to inherit land from their husbands. Havasupai women observe that among their white neighbors women inherit and own property, including land, an example which encourages them in their desire for rights of ownership and inheritance equal with men. Since many of the younger women have achieved some measure of economic independence, it is unlikely that this experience will lead to their submissive acceptance of an increase in emphasis upon male precedence in ownership and inheritance rights.

428 In regard to aboriginal land ownership, Spier (1928, 231) wrote: "Title
562 to land is in the hands of the men, although because of its utilization, title might better be characterized as joint ownership by the family, the economic unit that works it. Women rarely have independent control of land; those who have are invariably widows without other means of support." He em-
[423] phasized, in his 1957 communication, that land is of no value to the Havasupai save as it is used. "There would have been no point for them owning land without putting it to use, at the moment or in the foreseeable future."

In the present population at least 10 women own one or more plots of
423 land. The number of feminine land owners is uncertain, because five of
562 the women have sisters unmarried, living off the reservation, or living on the reservation but married to men who themselves own land. Under questioning, several of these women asserted that their land, or the use of it, would be redistributed, should the need arise, among their sisters under circumstances of marriage, change of residence, or widowhood. It appears that the present owners have the use of their lands, but that they hold such lands in trust for a group of related persons of which they are a part. The
[428] number of feminine land owners, therefore, is subject to change on the basis of heirship not yet settled.

175 648 boundary in 1882 the Government took no active interest in the Havasupai. In 1892 a government farmer was sent to instruct them in better methods of farming and the use of metal implements.

439 For many years the Havasupai have carried on an inter-tribal trade with the Navaho and Hopi, obtaining blankets, wool, and silver work in exchange for dressed skins, and agricultural products. The Hualapai on the west trade many of their raw deer hides to the Havasupai in exchange for the Navaho and Hopi goods in addition to fruit and vegetables.

ECONOMICS

267 The present Havasupai food supply is based principally on agricultural products and meat. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, supplemented by onions, tomatoes, melons, and other garden vegetables. Beans are of two kinds, navy and pinto—the latter a red spotted bean. The fruit crops are peaches, nectarines, apricots, and figs. [175] Peaches are said to have been introduced by John D. Lee, a Mormon, [177 233] who lived as a fugitive among these people for several years following 1857. Meat in the early days was obtained by hunting, but today most of it is from their herds of range cattle.

592 The economic unit is the household, usually consisting of parents, children, and unattached close relatives. These small groups are closely bound into large ones by blood ties. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated, with the inheritance of land on the one hand [428 591] and the temporary matrilocal residence on the other. Sometimes several generations of these people live close together and work together, but each married couple and the progeny are regarded as a distinct [591] unit. Some young couples build a home soon after they marry, but it is customary for them to live with the wife's parents until they have a home of their own.

428 Property descends through the male line. If a man dies his effects do not descend to his wife but to his sons. The sons may hold land or stock undivided for years until they have families of their own whose diverse interests make division necessary. The widow and unmarried daughters do share in the use of the land; but they cannot [768] lay claim to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If a widow hastily re-marries, her "use" interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. Should there be no direct heirs, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male descendants.

423 When not living out of the canyon in the winter, the Indians live in a section of the canyon not much more than a mile in length. Ownership of the arable land is communal. Every family has a piece of land, which is recognized as belonging to it by the rest of the tribe. By established custom the land is inherited and may be sold to a fellow tribesman. One peculiar condition that caused some trouble in the past was the ownership by one Havasupai of fruit trees growing on the lands in possession of another, brought about, it was reported, by certain complications in inheritance.

● 422 A short distance above Supai village Walapai Canyon branches off to the west. In the upper end is grazed a herd of individually owned cattle. The men visit the herd occasionally to bring in a beef to the [432 settlement. The meat of the animal is sold or traded and is eaten in 251] a day or two, there being no means of keeping meat other than as jerky.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by the men alone. The men are also the owners of the house and land on which it stands. Property, such as a man's tools, buckskins, weapons, saddle, and perhaps a charm and a mask; a woman's field tools, baskets, cooking uten-

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sils, and blankets is owned individually. Each one can dispose of his possessions independently. 422

The Havasupai is an excellent horseman and packer. He usually has quite a number of horses and does considerable packing on the trail with them. Traveling up and down the steep winding trail to the top of the canyon is very strenous work for the horses and the Indian must have a sufficient number of them so as to rest each horse for a few days after one of the trips. 492

When first visited by the white man these people dug holes with stone hoes, planted their seeds, but did little cultivating. Only a small acreage was planted, this being irrigated from small ditches running from dams of rock, logs, and willows piled in the river. Methods of farming are still simple. The ground is first plowed and then cultivation is done with a hoe; some rotation of crops is practiced from year to year. Irrigation ditches now serve over a hundred acres of land. 241 [315]

The Havasupai are among the most conscientious farmers in the Southwest. Their interest centers so firmly in their fields that when remunerative employment is to be had at Grand Canyon the men will leave the work with semi-monthly pay to plant and tend their crops. Planting begins in the middle of April, but previously the fields are cleared of weeds and brush, plowed with a one horse walking plow, and irrigated two or three days before planting. [340]

The tools used are a planting stick about an inch wide and a foot and a half long with one end cut wedge-shaped, and a modern hoe with a blade at an angle to the handle. Formerly a wooden spade-shaped hoe with an extra long handle was used; also, the shoulder blade of a horse was held in the hands and used to scrape the sand out of irrigating ditches and for scraping out weeds. 241 412 [237]

Planting is an occupation that most of the family takes part in; even the small children help dig holes. The corn is not planted deep, about three and one-half inches is the usual depth. The lines for the rows of hills are generally drawn with the foot. Kneeling, the first hole is dug with the planting stick; the soil is loosened, and eight or ten seeds dropped in. However, before putting the kernels in the first hole the planter says a prayer. Filling the hole, he takes two or three short steps forward, kneels, digs a second hole, and plants. This he continues until the field is planted. 241

The planting is not all done at one time but extends over a period of two months. Beans are planted on the same day as corn and placed half way between the corn hills. Both crops ripen about the same time.

When the young corn shoots are about two inches above the ground, they are given a second watering. When the tassels appear, about two and a half months after planting, the corn receives a third and last watering. The fields are weeded at regular intervals and traps are placed for rodents which would otherwise destroy a portion of the crops.

The Havasupai plant a small variety of corn, with ears about six inches long, known as Mohave corn, which will yield ears in about two months. Other varieties ripen at intervals from mid-August until the last of September. When the ears are ripe, they are gathered in burden baskets. The gatherer breaks off the ears and throws them in the basket on his back while he walks along. The corn is dried on the roofs or on brush heaps. It may be placed in the storage chambers either in the form of husked ears or shelled and piled in a corner. Seed corn is always husked and heaped in a separate pile in a corner. Watermelon, pumpkin, sunflower, and squash seeds are dried, put in cloth sacks and stored in the storage chambers. Beans and corn ripen at the same time and those beans not eaten green are dried and stored in stone chambers for winter use. [157] 251

The Havasupai have innumerable ways of preparing corn. Only 252

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Several changes have occurred since Spier's visits. The Indians no longer spend the fall and winter months of each year on the Plateau gathering wild foods and hunting. Males are more prominent nowadays as workers of agricultural land, possibly because this is the chief source of food, whereas in earlier times male hunting and female gathering were important supplementary food-getting activities, especially during the season of Plateau residence. White influence, too, is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance. Correlated with the above changes, the custom of temporary matrilocal postmarital residence is disappearing.

Out of 57 intra-village marriages in the past 30 years, 38 were clearly patrilocal, 16 intermediate, and 3 permanently matrilocal. The patrilocal couples all work on the husband's family's land, or have already inherited a share of it. All of the 16 "intermediate" couples live where they do because of various exigencies involving the inheritance of the land they work and/or the acquisition of one of the few permanent type houses. Of the three cases of matrilocality, two occurred because the male's father's household had died out. The other case is that of Spoonhead, who inherited no land from his own family. The reason for this will be mentioned later.

It therefore appears that the second of Spier's conditions has taken place to some extent, namely, an increase in male prominence with more regularity in patrilocal residence. Furthermore, this seems correlated with patrilineal inheritance of land. Apparently this inheritance, however, has not been of the sort that has furthered the patrilineal tracing of kindred. Disposal of land has often been attended by acrimonious disputes, so that one is probably justified in judging that perhaps neither individual ownership nor simple patrilineal succession are necessarily the only rules by which land is allocated. With this in mind I shall attempt to describe land rights by summing up data which involved circumstantial cases of inheritance, transactions, wills, and other overt manifestations.

Items of personal use other than land are clearly owned by the individual, and objects which are on the land—houses, crops, horses, and the few cattle—are also individually owned, for there is abundant evidence that a person can dispose of these items largely as he wishes. When he dies, much of his personal property is buried with him, his house is burned or abandoned,[4] and the crops he

4 About half of the houses are now of a permanent type and are not burned at the occupant's death, but are temporarily abandoned, to be occupied later when needed. There is no particular rule of inheritance with respect to the permanent houses, so they can be considered negligible as a factor in this discussion of inheritance. In another type of community, house ownership could, of course, be very important. See Elsie Clews Parsons, *The Hopi-Cha*

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423 planted stand in the fields and rot or are destroyed. These things are so clearly
[422] his that it seems disgraceful that anyone else should consider using them after
768 he is dead. The land, however, is not so closely associated with the man who
uses it. He can plant on it whatever he chooses, but has no right to dispose of it
[425] as he sees fit without consulting his relatives, and additionally, the opinion of the whole closely integrated community is an important factor influencing any decision he may wish to make.

177 Tribal government is vested in the three native chiefs who are now permanent
648 members of the council created by the Indian Office, but the chiefs and the
428 council exercise little authority, although they are encouraged to do so. Prob-
621 lems of inheritance and land rights, if not solved by the family, are usually argued out and settled by general public opinion, or in extreme cases of non-agreement are carried to the Government Agent as a last resort. For several years the Indian Office has encouraged the Havasupai to make legal statements and wills which would settle the disputes so often attending redistribution of land after a death. These attempts were, of course, based on the assumption that the Havasupai men owned their land as we own ours. That this assumption was not accurate,[5] however, is attested by the fact that in most of the few cases on record, the wills were disputed, and the land was finally redistributed according to the usual complex pattern which pays little or no attention to any perverse notions of the previous occupant.

423 When Prince Wodo was a feeble old man, he wanted to turn his land over
578 to Lemuel Paya and Henry Hanna, who had been caring for him. Henry was a cousin, and Lemuel was a more distant relative by marriage. Wodo's daughter Lily, and his niece Katie, who had not taken any responsibility for his care, were left out. They started a fuss which became quite bitter. It is said that the old man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned to death. Katie and Lily divided the land. The inheritance pattern which justified this will be discussed below; suffice it at present to note that even in this dramatic situation, Prince Wodo had no voice in the disposition of the land which he had worked all his life.

121 It should be apparent from the above discussion that familial rights outrank
125 individual rights. As mentioned before, however, the fact of disputes and
428

Complex of the Pueblos (in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber*, pp. 229-232, Berkeley, 1936).

5 This is not said as stricture, and furthermore it does not apply to Mr Noble O. Guthrie, the present sub-agent in charge at Supai. He has made a sincere effort to understand the ways of the Indians, and has achieved considerable success. I am extremely indebted to him for his interest and cooperation.